

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 3845

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, TD, PE (MRS. CARTER)  
SUBJECT: PLANNING FOR MRS. CARTER'S VISIT: PRESS SITUATION  
AND UNIQUE ASPECTS OF PERU

REF: STATE 104923

1. THIS MESSAGE RESPONDS TO LAST SUB-PARA REFTEL CONCERNING THE PERUVIAN PRESS AND UNIQUE ASPECTS OF PERU; OTHER REQUIREMENTS MET IN SEPTELS.

2. THE PERUVIAN LARGE-CIRCULATION NEWSPAPERS, TV AND RADIO ARE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED. THE GOP EXERCISES THAT CONTROL BY NAMING AND REMOVING THE DIRECTORS OF NEWSPAPERS, THROUGH GOVERNMENT GUIDANCE FROM ITS INFORMATION SERVICE, AND SOMETIMES BY THE PHYSICAL PRESENCE OF CENSORS IN EDITORIAL OFFICES. IN 1974, THE GOP TOOK OVER THE PRIVATELY-OWNED LARGE-CIRCULATION NEWSPAPERS, THEN TERMING THEM "SOCIALIZED",

AND PLEDGED TO TURN ONE NEWSPAPER OVER LATER TO EACH "ORGANIZED SECTOR OF SOCIETY" SUCH AS THE CAMPESINOS, THE LABOR COMMUNITIES, THE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE EDUCATION SECTOR AND SO ON. THE GOP HAS NOT MADE THE PROMISED TRANSFERS, PARTLY BECAUSE EACH OF THESE GOVERNMENT-SPAWNED AND SUPPORTED ORGANIZATIONS HAS TURNED OUT TO BE EMBARRASSINGLY  
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TO THE LEFT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

3. THERE IS ALSO A MORE INDEPENDENT PRESS IN PERU, COMPOSED OF SMALL-CIRCULATION AND PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS AND THE WIDELY-READ WEEKLY LIMA MAGAZINES. THIS PRESS IS ALLOWED TO CRITICIZE, QUESTIONS OR COMMENT "WITHIN THE PARAMETERS" OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION. SINCE THE GOVERNMENT THREATENS WITH CLOSURE OR

BRINGS CRIMINAL AND CIVIL CHARGES AGAINST TRANSGRESSORS OF THESE LARGELY UNDEFINED PARAMETERS, THIS PRESS IS MORE DOCILE THAN THAT OF THE FIRST WORLD, BUT ABOUT AVERAGE OR BETTER FOR THE THIRD WORLD.

4. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PERUVIAN PRESS TOWARD MRS. CARTER AS A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE ONE OF RESPECT AND ANTICIPATION. VISITS OF HIGH-RANKING U.S. REPRESENTATIVES ARE FIRMLY AND TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED HERE WITH U.S. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OF SOME KIND, AND THE PRESS WILL PROBABLY RECALL THAT MRS. NIXON'S 1970 VISIT BROUGHT AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR SEVERE EARTHQUAKE DAMAGE RECONSTRUCTION. SOME QUESTIONS MAY BE FRAMED IN AN OPTIMISTIC ASSUMPTION THAT THE U.S. INTENDS TO POUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS INTO THIS COUNTRY. PERU HEARTILY SUBSCRIBES TO THE THIRD WORLD NOTION THAT THE U.S. SHOULD HELP IT BECAUSE IT NEEDS HELP, AND IN FACT THAT THE U.S. HAS A MORAL OBLIGATION TO DO SO.

5. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THE PRESS WILL BE UNFRIENDLY OR AGGRESSIVE. THE GOP WILL WANT MRS. CARTER'S VISIT TO BE A GLORIOUS SUCCESS, UNMARRED BY THE SLIGHTEST UNPLEASANT INCIDENT OR IMPORTUNATE PRESS INQUIRY. THE PRESS WILL UNDERSTAND THIS AND WILL EXERCISE THE GREATEST CIRCUMSPECTION. ALL FACETS OF THE VISIT WILL BE REPORTED IN GLOWING AND POSITIVE TERMS.

6. THE TOPICS MRS. CARTER SHOULD TOUCH ON WILL BE LISTED IN OUR SEPTTEL TRANSMITTING DRAFT ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE STATEMENTS AND TOASTS. AS A GENERAL PROPOSITION, MRS. CARTER SHOULD EXPRESS U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE GENERAL STATED GOALS OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.  
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TION -- TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY AND TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL PERUVIANS IN THE PROCESS -- WITHOUT BEING DRAWN INTO COMMENT ON ANY PARTICULAR ASPECT -- SUCH AS LAND REDISTRIBUTION, THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE ECONOMY, PRODUCTION FIGURES AND SO ON.

7. MRS. CARTER WILL PRESUMABLY WISH TO MENTION OR WILL BE ASKED ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA, INCLUDING ITS APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS. FORTUNATELY, PERU IS NOT WIDELY REGARDED DOMESTICALLY OR INTERNATIONALLY AS A HUMAN RIGHTS "PROBLEM COUNTRY". ITS LEADERS HAVE VOICED THEIR SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, BUT WITH THE USUAL CAVEAT WITH RESPECT TO SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERVENTION. IN DISCUSSING HUMAN RIGHTS, WE SUGGEST THAT MRS. CARTER AVOID SAYING ANYTHING IN THIS COUNTRY THAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS CRITICISM OF CHILE, IN PARTICULAR, AND ALSO BRAZIL, URUGUAY AND ARGENTINA. THE GOP SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDS DOING SO. IT IS ENGAGED IN A GOVERNMENT-WIDE PROGRAM OF EXCHANGE VISITS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS DESIGNED TO DAMPEN DOWN REGIONAL TENSIONS,

PARTICULARLY THOSE BETWEEN PERU AND ITS TRADITIONAL RIVAL AND  
ERSTWHILE ENEMY CHILE. KNOWLEDGEABLE PERUVIANS WILL IN ANY CASE  
NOTE PRIVATELY AND WITH SOME SMUGNESS THAT MRS. CARTER IS NOT  
GOING TO SANTIAGO.

8. THE FEATURE THAT SETS PERU APART FROM THE OTHERS TO BE VISITED  
IS THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION. FROM 1968-1976, THIS COUNTRY WAS  
RULED BY A LEFTIST/RADICAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE  
ARMED FORCES THAT SET ABOUT TO CHANGE THE BASIC ECONOMIC AND  
SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN A FRANKLY SOCIALIST DIRECTION. THAT  
PROMISED RADICAL TRANSFORMATION HAS NOW COME UP AGAINST THE  
HARD FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ECONOMICS, AND THE  
RESULTS OF SOME OF ITS EXCESSES AND MISCALCULATIONS. THE  
REVOLUTION HAS ENTERED A MORE MODERATE AND PRUDENT "SECOND  
PHASE". HOWEVER, THERE HAS BEEN A LASTING CHANGE IN LAND TENURE  
AND EDUCATION, IN PARTICULAR, AND THE OBLIGARCHS WHO ONCE  
RULED THE COUNTRY NO LONGER DO SO. THEY HAVE BEEN REPLACED  
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BY THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TECHNOCRATS. THE PERUVIAN  
MILITARY GOVERNMENT DIFFERS FROM SOME OF ITS COUNTERPARTS  
IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN THAT IT HAS SET A ROUGH TIMETABLE UP  
TO 1980 FOR TURNING POWER BACK TO THE CIVILIANS THROUGH AN  
ELECTION PROCESS. CERTAINLY BY THAT TIME, PERU WILL NOT BE  
ABLE TO REVERT TO ITS STATUS QUO ANTE AND THE STRUCTURES OF  
ITS SOCIETY WILL BE PERMANENTLY CHANGED. IT IS TO THE CREDIT  
OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT (OR MAYBE IT IS MERELY THE PERUVIAN  
WAY) THAT IT UNDERTOOK A SOCIAL REVOLUTION -- HOWEVER ABORTIVE --  
VIRTUALLY WITHOUT BLOODSHED AND WITHOUT DESCENDING FROM  
AUTHORITARIANISM TO TOTALITARIANISM. DEAN

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